

**COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515**

**STATEMENT OF
THE HONORABLE ENI F.H. FALEOMAVAEGA
CHAIRMAN**

**before the
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIA, THE PACIFIC, AND THE
GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT**

“Smart Power: Remaking U.S. Foreign Policy in North Korea”

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Never in our nation’s history have we faced a more pressing need to remake America at home and abroad. And, who knoweth, as the Good Book says, whether or not President Obama has been raised up for such a time as this.

What we do know is that last November, America voted for change because America recognizes that these are no ordinary times. These are extraordinary days, and I commend the Obama Administration and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for sending a “tremendous signal” of the importance of the Asia Pacific region to U.S. interests right now. By choosing to visit the Asia Pacific region in her first trip abroad, Secretary Clinton is renewing America’s stature and leadership in a region of the world the U.S. has too long neglected. I wish Secretary Clinton Godspeed, especially as she takes on the challenge of remaking U.S. foreign policy in North Korea.

While diplomacy – tough-minded, intelligent diplomacy – will be the keystone of U.S. foreign policy, in her testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as a nominee for Secretary of State, Senator Clinton stated we must use “‘smart power’: the full range of tools at our disposal – diplomatic, economic, military, political, legal, and cultural – picking the right tool, or combination of tools, for each situation.”

I agree with this approach, believing like Secretary Clinton that we must “fire on all cylinders to provide forward-thinking, sustained diplomacy in every part of the world.” In the case of North Korea, in 2003, six governments including the United States, North Korea, China, South Korea, Japan, and Russia began talks aimed at ultimately eliminating North Korea’s nuclear programs. In 2007 and 2008, three agreements were reached, two by the six parties, and one by Assistant Secretary of State Christopher Hill and North Korean Deputy Foreign Minister Kim Kye-gwan. The

agreements constituted a deal to shut down North Korea's plutonium production facilities in exchange for U.S. concessions, including removing North Korea from the sanctions provisions of the U.S. Trading with the Enemy Act, removing North Korea from the U.S. list of state sponsors of terrorism, and the promise of energy assistance to North Korea.

At the end of the Bush Administration, North Korea had completed about 80% of the disablement, and the U.S., China, South Korea and Russia sent North Korea about 800,000 tons of the one million tons of the energy assistance it promised. Although Japan is withholding its quota of about 200,000 tons of heavy oil due to the lack of progress in settling the issue of North Korea's kidnapping of Japanese citizens, the Bush Administration did remove North Korea from the sanctions provisions and the terrorism list. However, North Korea now says it will only complete disablement when it receives the remainder of energy assistance.

As Mr. Harrison will testify, this is a very important turning point in U.S.-North Korea relations for, as he states, "For the past 18 years the United States has offered the normalization of relations with North Korea as the reward for denuclearization. Now, North Korea is asking us to reverse the sequence, to pursue denuclearization through normalization."

The purpose of today's hearing is to discuss where we go from here considering that North Korea is also suggesting that any final denuclearization agreement with the United States must consider the future military presence in and around the Korean Peninsula. Also, North Korea is signaling that future denuclearization talks deal only with the dismantlement of the Yongbyon installations rather than with nuclear weapons.

With North Korea's threat of a military confrontation with South Korea and its refusal to completely denuclearize, the timeliness and relevance of today's hearing is underscored by North Korea's announcement less than two weeks ago that it is nullifying all inter-Korean agreements and reportedly seeking to test-fire an intercontinental ballistic missile. As Secretary Clinton noted this past Tuesday at a press conference held at the White House, "We are hopeful that some of the behavior that we have seen coming from North Korea in the last few weeks is not a precursor of any action that would up the ante, or threaten the stability and peace and security of the neighbors in the region. North Korea has to understand that all of the countries in East Asia have made it clear that its behavior is viewed as unacceptable."

Given these very serious developments, what tools should the Obama Administration use to improve U.S.-North Korean relations? Should greater emphasis be placed on economic aid, human rights, and separate negotiations with North Korea over a Korean peace treaty to replace the 1953 armistice agreement? Is any of this possible given the Bush Administration's failure to focus on North Korea's highly enriched uranium program or nuclear collaboration with Iran and Syria? What succession contingencies do we have in place given the recent health concerns of Kim Jong-Il?

However we proceed, let me conclude my opening statement with two clear convictions. First, the U.S.-ROK alliance stands firm in its commitment to peace and prosperity on the Korean Peninsula. Second, North Korea should come back to the negotiating table immediately and re-establish its inter-Korean cooperative projects with South Korea to continue progress aimed at easing tensions and fostering mutual dialogue.

Having said this, I look forward to receiving testimony from our esteemed panel of witnesses and, before recognizing our Ranking Member for any opening comments that he might have, I want to commend Ambassador and Mrs. Charles L. (Jack) Pritchard and their son, Major Jack Pritchard, Jr., for their honorable and much appreciated service to our nation. Major Jack Pritchard, Jr. of the 1st Armored Division just completed his second tour of duty in Iraq in December and, following Ambassador Pritchard's testimony and after answering any questions we might have, Ambassador Pritchard and his wife will depart on a flight for Wiesbaden, Germany to visit their son for the first time since his return. On a day of such significance, we thank Ambassador Pritchard for being with us today and we thank his son, and all those serving in the U.S. Armed Forces, for their heroic service. I ask you to join me in applauding them.